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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION DISCUSSED

Tokyo GENDAI NO ME in Japanese May 82 pp 227-235

[Article by investigative reporter Tatsuya Sato: "A Grassroots Constitutional Revision Movement That Has Begun To Stir"]

[Text] Beginning of a "Grassroots" Constitutional Revision

On 21 March over 200,000 people gathered in Hiroshima to oppose nuclear weapons and to ask for arms reduction under the slogan "No more Hiroshima." Growth of the movement at the grassroots level was emphasized.

On 7 September, about a half year earlier, another gathering was held in Hiroshima City. The Kenshin Hall, where the gathering was held, is located near the epicenter of the Hiroshima atomic bomb explosion. Almost all the seats were filled before the scheduled meeting time, and spare folding chairs were arranged. Almost 900 people crowded into the hall.

When the program started at 6 pm, the lights were turned off in the hall and a movie began. The movie, entitled "Now, Let's Reexamine the Constitution," was produced by Ishihara Productions. It lasted for about an hour. Commentary by well-known hawkish intellectuals such as Takeshi Muramatsu, Jun Eto, and Hideaki Kato provided the background while the situation at the time of the constitution's adoption was shown in a news report style. The film persistently presented the image of "a forced constitution" and "a defective constitution."

After the movie, Toshiro Mayuzumi, a composer known as a "superhawk," gave a lecture commemorating the gathering.

"Why was an atomic bomb dropped in Hiroshima? Because Japan did not have atomic bombs," began Mayuzumi. For over an hour he severely criticized the present constitution. He concluded his lecture with the words "In order to protect peace, now let's reexamine the constitution."

The gathering was called "the Inaugural Ceremony of the Hiroshima Prefectural Citizens Council To Protect Japan--Hiroshima Prefectural Citizens Assembly To Contemplate Japan's Security." Hiroshima is the 30th prefecture to have an organization with the name "xx prefectural citizens council to protect Japan."

The same sort of organization was inaugurated in Osaka 2 days earlier and in Aichi Prefecture on the next day, 8 September. Then, "The National Council To Protect Japan," the central organ for the prefectural citizens councils, was formally inaugurated in Tokyo in October.

"The National Council To Protect Japan" is established on the base of prefectural citizens councils such as the one formed in Hiroshima. What is its purpose? It is none other than to gather together all factions favoring constitutional revision and to create a constitutional revision movement at the grassroots level. While the grassroots antinuclear and arms reduction movements have been rising, a serious grassroots movement for constitutional revision also has begun.

The inaugural ceremony of "The National Council To Protect Japan" was held at the Hotel New Otani on 27 October. After singing "Kimigayo"--the national anthem--Toshiro Mayuzumi, the chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the National Council To Protect Japan, made an opening speech. "There is no time like the present to reexamine the constitution. The MISHIMA incident 8 years ago, after all, ended like fireworks. Live charcoal lighted by the incident, however, still remains. With this valuable live charcoal left by our predecessor, we would like to fire a movement toward constitutional revision. We want to become a trigger for it. This is the purpose of organizing The National Council." He clearly declared the purpose behind the organization of The National Council. Then, guests such as then LDP Secretary General Yoshio Sakurachi, Democratic Socialist Party premanent counselor Ikko Kasuga, and former President of the Japan Medical Association Taro Takemi gave speeches. The declaration was adopted and the ceremony ended.

The members of the National Council are:

(Officials)

Chairman: Shun'ichi Kase (former ambassador to the United Nations)  
Steering Committee Chairman: Toshiro Mayuzumi (composer)  
Secretary General: Hiroyuki Soejima (Deputy Priest of Meiji Shrine)

(Sponsors)

Masaru Ibuka (honorary chairman of the Sony Corporation)  
Seiichi Uno (professor emeritus of Tokyo University)  
Jun Eto (professor of Tokyo Engineering University)  
Yoshio Oishi (professor emeritus of Kyoto University)  
Kiyotaka Kasugano (president of Japan Sumo Association)  
Nichii Kaneko (chief priest of Ikegami Honmonji Temple)  
Tadashi Saito (editorial counselor of the JAPAN TIMES)  
Takeshi Sakurada (honorary chairman of the Japan Federation of Employers' Association)  
Nobutaka Shikauchi (president of the Sankei Shimbunsha)  
Yasuo Shinoda (president of the Central Agency for Shrines)  
Ikutaro Shimizu (former professor of Gakushuin University)

Koin Takada (chief priest of Nara Yakushiji Temple)  
 Taro Takemi (former president of the Japan Medical Association)  
 Shigeo Nagano (chairman of Meiji Shrine Parishioners' Association)  
 Shocho Hagami (chief priest of the Tendai Sect's Enryakuji Temple)  
 Shinsaku Hogan (counselor to the International Cooperation Agency)  
 Ryugen Hosokawa (political critic)  
 Kozo Masuda (ninth rank professional Japanese chess player)  
 Mitsuro Muto (guest professor of Waseda University)  
 Yoshitsu Muramatsu (critic)  
 Takeshi Muramatsu (professor of Tsukuba University)  
 Nobuko Yamagishi (former president of the Japan Women's League)

(Supporters number over 230.)

They comprise a wide variety of people. Along with the well-known hawkish names, the names of Japan Sumo Association President Kiyotaka Kasungano, ninth rank Japanese chess player Kozo Masuda, former Japan Women's League President Nobuko Yamagishi appear. Furthermore, among the supporters are flower arranger Yasuko Ikenobo, actor Koji Tsuruta, comic storyteller Nekohachi Edoya, Tokyu Corporation President Noboru Goto, and Mitsukoshi President Shigezo Okada. These examples suggest the broadness of the base.

Originally, "The National Council To Protect Japan" was created on the basis of "The National Council To Realize Era Name Legislation" (the chairman was the late former Supreme Court Chief Justice Kazuto Ishida), which promoted the passage of era name legislation in 1979. Well-known ultraright religious groups such as Seicho-no-ie, the Central Agency for Shrines, Busshogonenkai [a Buddhist organization], and the Unification Association (International League To Conquer Communism) primarily organized "The National Council To Realize Era Name Legislation." It established a prefectural citizens council in each prefecture. It had every prefectural assembly except Okinawa and 1,641 local assemblies throughout the country adopt resolutions supporting passage of era name legislation. Then, a bill was introduced in the Diet and passed. Although "The National Council To Protect Japan" was organized primarily by the rightwing religious groups that had been active in the movement to realize era name legislation, its membership extends to intellectuals, entertainers, and businessmen. It has gathered in one camp every constitutional revision faction in politics, business, and bureaucracy, academia, the entertainment field, and religion. This makes "The National Council" different from previous constitutional revision movements.

Certainly, constitutional revision has consistently been one of the most important goals of rightwing groups. No matter what its size, there is no rightwing group that does not support constitutional revision. As general organizations for the constitutional revision movement, there are two: The Diet Members' Union for Realization of an Autonomous Constitution and The National Council To Establish an Autonomous Constitution. These two organizations are, however, virtually the same. The chairman of both is former Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi. The two organizations share one office. The Diet Members' Union was founded in 1955. It was organized by LDP Diet members. Kakuei Tanaka, the black general of the political arena, joined the Diet Members' Union in May of last year. It has increased its membership by almost 170 in the last 2 years. Now, the total membership numbers 288 in both houses. Since it is an organization of Diet members, however, it cannot organize a bottom-up movement.

The National Council To Establish an Autonomous Constitution is an umbrella organization for all rightwing groups in Japan. In addition to the Diet Members' Union and ultraright religious groups such as Seicho-no-ie and the Central Agency for Shrines, old military-related groups such as the Japan Survivors Association, the Military Pension Recipients Union, and Reservist Friendship Association have joined in it. Although the scale of the organization is large, its only activity is to hold "The National Meeting To Request Establishment Of an Autonomous Constitution" each May. It has never been able to activate a movement to stir up public opinion systematically at the grassroots level. In spite of the existence of those two organizations, they decided to organize "The National Council To Protect Japan" because they reflected upon the failures of previous high-level constitutional revision movements. The success of era name legislation taught them many lessons. While maneuvering the Diet in the center, they tried to rouse public opinion by utilizing entertainers and intellectuals. Moreover, they tried to organize local groups and use them to maneuver in local assemblies. As a result, they succeeded in "surrounding cities with villages." By following this example, the National Council intends to realize constitutional revision. Its final goal is a complete revision of the constitution. Although the debate is heated, constitutional revision cannot be realized immediately. All the participants in the National Council know this. Their immediate goal is to discuss education and defense issues which tend to draw people's attention. Then, by doing this they "intend to create an atmosphere where there is no choice but constitutional revision as a result. We shall achieve our goal 5 or 10 years from now." In this sense, it can be said that a real constitutional revision movement has begun 36 years after the war.

#### Focus on the 1983 General Election

"The National Council To Protect Japan," a joint force of all constitutional revision factions, is not only tries to propagate a mood for constitutional revision but also possesses rather specific and clearcut programs and strategies for constitutional revision. It is necessary to pay attention to this point. Its program is to: (1) try to mold grassroots opinion in the 3 years from 1981 through 1983 by discussing issues such as defense and education which tend to draw people's interest while organizing local groups; and (2) plan to increase the number of conservatives in the 1983 general election and to undermine middle-of-the-road forces in order to strengthen the constitutional revision factions. Their strategy is a policy of an organized movement using the so-called "two-stage revolution method."

In the declaration adopted at its inauguration on 27 October, three topics were pointed out for the National Council: (1) let's have Japanese protecting the Japanese people; (2) let's establish Japanese education based on Japanese tradition; and (3) let's bravely discuss constitutional issues. "Our objective is, while holding high those three suggestions, to develop a broad national movement in order to make a historic decision for Japan's future in the national election of 1983."

Furthermore, according to the organization's internal materials, more specific goals have been set for activities in the 3-year period.

### "To Create a National Movement"

#### 3-Year Prospective Plan for a Constitutional Revision Movement

.1981

- (1) To develop a broad teaching movement to reexamine the constitutional issue through the issues of defense and education.
- (2) To organize prefectural citizens councils and a national council as basic organs to promote the teaching movement.

.1982

- (1) As a result of prefectural citizens movements, have resolutions promoting peace and security adopted by local assemblies in 47 prefectures and 3,000 cities, towns, and villages throughout the country.
- (2) Organize citizens councils in cities, towns, and villages (3,000 cities, towns, and villages throughout the country) in order to develop each prefectural citizens council to a broad extent.

.1983

- (1) With the achievement of the local assembly resolution movement in each prefecture and through the organizational power of each prefectural citizens council and municipal citizens council, hold a "prefectural citizens indignation meeting" to stir up public opinion.
- (2) Assume that elections to both houses and the unified local elections, which are scheduled in 1983, will be defense elections, suggest the policies of the national movement to every party and achieve the coalescence of all constitutional revision factions.

For these purposes a series of lectures across the country intended to gather 100,000 people were held last summer. The group of lecturers included former Chiefs of Joint Staff Hiroshi Kurusu and Goro Takeda and the Tsukuba University of Nobuyuki Fukuda, Takeshi Muramatsu, and Yatsuhiko Nakagawa.

Moreover, a total of five movies--"Now, Let's Reexamine the Constitution," "The Northern Defense That Is Threatened," "Gate of Ice and Snow," "The Strait of Hormuz," and "The Security and the Constitution of Japan"--were produced or prepared for the movement. Among them, "the Gate of Ice and Snow" had been widely used by the International League To conquer Communism as anticommunist and anti-USSR propaganda. It was again taken out of storage to be used.

As "A Policy Series To Contemplate Japan's Future Course," a total of five pamphlets--(1) "The Northern Defense That Is Threatened"; (2) "The Middle East--Japan's Lifeline"; (3) "White Paper on the Self Defense Forces"; (4) "Now, Let's Reexamine the Constitution"; and (5) "White Paper on Education"--were prepared.

Prefectural citizens councils have already been organized and started activities in more than 40 prefectures. Offices of liaison offices of those councils are in almost all cases placed in local branches of Siecho-no-ie or the Central Agency for Shrines. The policies of their movement are almost the same as those of the center and have no characteristic of their own. In Kyoto, however, the prefectural citizens council is named "The Kyoto National Council To Love Japan." As a movement of its own, its goal is "to restore the old Imperial House Act and hold a coronation in Kyoto." The Kyoto Prefectural Assembly has already adopted a resolution to petition on behalf of this objective.

As for "local assembly resolutions to promote peace and security," an important goal for 1982, a model was written at the center and detailed notes and instructions on procedures were given to each prefectural citizens council. On 23 December, a greatly amended draft resolution was adopted at the monthly general assembly in Yabe, Kamimashiki District, Kumamoto Prefecture. Previously, a resolution had been introduced in the Hino City Assembly of metropolitan Tokyo, but it was blocked in the end. Consequently, the resolution in Yabe became the first to be passed in the country.

"The Yabe Citizens Council To Protect Japanese Tradition" that petitioned for the resolution is a local organization of "The National Council To Protect Japan." Although many citizens councils are organized at prefectural level, those at the city, town, and village levels are organized in only 14 cities, towns, and villages of Kumamoto and Miyazaki. These two prefectures are, so to speak, model regions. The National Council's eagerness to adopt this resolution was great. It sent a group of organizers led by Masakuni Murakami, vice chairman of Seicho-no-ie, to Yabe. A large-scale propaganda campaign was carried out, including an all-household signature collection campaign. As a result, the resolution was adopted by a 13 (including one Komei Party vote) to 1 margin (one Communist Party member and one Socialist Party member boycotted the vote).

Making the case of Yabe a breakthrough, this type of resolution will be presented to every local assembly this year. With this achievement as background, the National Council intends to make the upcoming 1983 general election a political battle over the issues of constitutional revision and defense and bring together all constitutional revision factions.

#### .A Model Resolution Written by the National Council

To: The Prime Minister

The Speaker of the House of Representatives  
The Speaker of the House of Councilors

Statement Concerning the Self Defense Forces for the Purpose of Protecting  
Peace and Security

Recently, the international environment surrounding our country has become drastically more severe, and people's interest in peace and security has been rising greatly.

However, the conflict of opinion over the existence of the Self Defense Forces, the basis for national defense, still continues between powerful parties. For this reason, the Self Defense Forces have many problems.

Specifically:

- Item: The current defense structure has various legislative defects which prevent the Self Defense Forces from demonstrating their fighting power.
- Item: Self Defense officials are unfairly discriminated against in various matters such as public recruiting activities, participation in public events such as national athletic meets, and admission to national universities.
- Item: The Self Defense Forces are very unfairly treated in school curriculums, beginning with their description in school textbooks.

Therefore, we strongly request that, in order to establish our country's peace and security, the government and the Diet clarify the status of the Self Defense Forces and try to correct the previously mentioned points immediately.

.The Resolution Adopted in Yabe, Kumamoto Prefecture, on 23 December

To: The Prime Minister  
The Speaker of the House of Representatives  
The Speaker of the House of Councilors

Statement Concerning the Self Defense Forces for the Purpose of Protecting the Peace and Security of the Country and Homeland

In reviewing the present defense structure of our country, the Self Defense Forces possess various legislative deficiencies.

Therefore, in order to protect the peace of the homeland and the security of the people, the government should immediately try to correct the legislative defects while respecting the constitution's spirit of loving peace.

Based on item 2, Article 99 of the Local Government Act, we present this statement of opinion.

Take in the Middle-of-the-Road Forces!

The model of "local assembly resolutions to promote peace and security" does not refer to constitutional revision (undesirable revisions) at all. If you read it through, however, it is quite obvious that the goal is to revise Article 9 of the constitution. In other words, instead of requesting

constitutional revision in a straightforward manner, it intends to open a road toward constitutional revision by approaching it through the backdoor. Why do they need this sort of detour? One reason is consideration for public opinion. More important, however, is the local assembly resolution movement's goal of taking in middle-of-the-road forces which have not yet made clear their position on constitutional revision.

According to an internal document for discussion of the National Council entitled "Stir Up Local Energy--the Prospects of the Movement for Local Assembly Resolutions on the Self Defense Forces," the local assembly resolution movement has three goals.

1. In the local assembly resolution movement, we will try to consolidate further the policies of the middle-of-the-road parties which have been asserting more realistic policies on the defense issue, and thereby draw a clear line between them and the Socialist and Communist Parties, which make dissolution of the Self Defense Forces party policy.
2. In doing this, we will try to make it clear to society that the policies of the Socialist and Communist Parties, which make dissolution of the Self Defense Forces party policy, are contrary to the views of the 80 percent of the nation that approves the Self Defense Forces. We will try to isolate the Socialist and Communist Parties, which advocate the equation of protection of the constitution with opposition to defense, and thereby inflict decisive damage on those parties.
3. We will try to firm up the coalition of conservative and the middle-of-the-road parties in order to form a majority that more strongly promotes the constitutional revision movement.

This line of absorbing middle-of-the-road forces into the constitutional revision factions runs through all of "Stir Up Local Energy," a written program for constitutional revision by the National Council. "Stir Up Local Energy" describes the preconditions for constitutional revision as follows. Concerning the number of Diet seats required for constitutional revision (more than two-thirds in both houses), it says that "it is not possible for the LDP to occupy two-thirds by itself in the future." On the other hand, it guesses that the Socialist and Communist Parties and the Socialist Democratic League cannot get the one-third of the seats necessary to prevent constitutional revision either.

If so, "the middle-of-the-road Komei Party, Democratic Socialist Party and New Liberal Club will hold decisive votes." The trend of the Komei Party in particular becomes very important. Furthermore, as an extension of this recognition, it states that "considering the protect-the-constitution faction within the LDP and the approve-the-Self-Defense-Forces faction in the Socialist Party, many--including those who object to constitutional revision--can agree on the defense issue even though they may not agree on the constitutional issue." The analysis is as follows: "The present political situation is one in which a state of confrontation exists between the defense bloc consisting of the LDP and Democratic Socialist Party and

Communist Parties. Between the two, the Komei Party is swinging. If the defense bloc is strengthened, it will divide the protect-the-constitution forces of the Socialist and Communist Parties into many camps. Thus, it may be possible to limit the protect-the-constitution forces to less than the one-third required to prevent the constitutional revision in the future. On the other hand, if the whole body of Komei Party members joins the defense bloc, it is a step toward formation of the two-thirds majority required for constitutional revision in the future." "The defense bloc" versus "the protect-the-constitution bloc" is an expression that describes the situation very well.

Moreover, according to the same document, the National Council assumes the 1983 general election will be "the first stage of a shift from the defense to the constitutional revision issue." If the constitutional revision faction can win overwhelmingly in the election, it will rush into the second stage in which work on constitutional revision itself is started. "The main point of the movement during the second stage is to write a draft revised constitution that clearly presents to people our policy of constitutional revision when debate occurs over changes in interpreting the constitution or line-by-line revision of the constitution. In this way the revision faction will obtain the support of the public for the solution of constitutional problems. Furthermore, by determining a definite direction for constitutional revision, we will achieve organization of a nonpartisan Diet members' union for constitutional revision by uniting four parties" [the LDP, the New Liberal Club, the Democratic Socialist Party, and the Komei Party]. By doing so, they intend to realize the constitutional revision at one stroke in the second stage.. To do this, it is necessary to gather a broader spectrum of people than in the case of era name legislation. The need to call on labor organizations, educational circles, young people, and women to form a truly comprehensive national union is emphasized.

I have quoted a rather long passage. Under present conditions in which rightwing reactionary tendencies have been progressing at a high pitch, their aggressive "constitutional revision plan" cannot be laughed at as a wild story or fabrication. The strategic point in the first stage of their constitutional revision approach is to try to get middle-of-the-road forces on their side. They have succeeded to a considerable extent, particularly in winning over the Komei Party.

The Komei Party, which has been shaken by scandals in the Soka Gakkai, its parent organization, intends to take a step further to the right on defense and security issues. At the party convention held on 1-3 December last year, it clearly expressed its posture of approving the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and accepting the Self Defense Forces even though various restrictions and conditions were attached. The Komei Party called it a realistic line. The party literally joined the defense bloc.

The Democratic Socialist Party is no problem since nowadays it is said to be further right than the LDP. In addition, the Japan confederation of Labor, the Democratic Socialist Party's powerful support organization, has listed support for increased defense capability among its policies for 1972-73

[as published] activities. This is the first time that strengthening the Self Defense Forces has been clearly stated among the policies of the national center. Moreover, names of leading members of labor unions belonging to the Japan Confederation of Labor, which did not appear in the movement for era name legislation, appear among the supporters of prefectural citizens councils in places like Osaka.

It should also be noted that Ichiro Shioji, president of the Automobile Workers Union, is one of the supporters of the "Showa History Study Association" which is closely related to the National Council To Protect Japan. The purpose of this association is "to clarify the truth about the Greater East Asia War, the Tokyo Trials, and a series of occupation policies that were the origin of Japan's postwar era through study and research of Showa history." With Hisao Ito, the campaign manager of former Chief Of Joint Staff Hiroomi Kurusu's campaign for the House of Councilors, as the central figure, well-known rightwing intellectuals such as Seizo Arisue (honorary president of the Japan Reservists Friendship Association), Ikutaro Shimizu, Niaranosuke Nakoshi (assistant professor of Takachiho Commerce College and one of those who started attacks on Red school textbooks), and Jun Eto became supporters of the "Showa History Study Association." The first pamphlet it published was "Prejudiced School Textbooks That Scare" (written by Takushoku University lecturer Masaaki Tanaka). The second one was "Thinking About the Current Constitution" (written by Aoyama Gakuin University Professor Kazuo Sato). If you look at these pamphlets, you can easily guess what sort of organization it is. (Professor Sato is the only professor in the country who makes an introduction to military life program offered by the Self Defense Forces a prerequisite for students wishing to take his course.) Incidentally, an office of the Japan Education Student Union, an organization funded by big business aimed at organizing anti-Japan Teachers' Union groups, was located in the office of the Showa History Study Association until last summer. A powerful Socialist Party Diet member is also connected with this Japan Education Student Union.

As is well known, President Ichiro Shioji of the Japan Automobile Workers Union is a leader in the movement for labor unification under the leadership of private sector workers. In the secret minutes of a meeting to promote a united front, Shioji and Nakamura, president of the Federation of Iron and Steel Industry Workers Union, made remarks which could be interpreted as support for constitutional revision. This fact cannot be ignored.

#### From Partial Revision to Complete Revision

Along with the strategy to take in middle-of-the-road forces, the composition of a specific revised draft of the constitution has been progressing steadily. The LDP's Constitution Research Committee (chairman, Mitsuo Setoyama) called 1982 "the year of the constitution." It established a summarization subcommittee in May of last year to write a specific revised draft of the constitution. Moreover, it set up for workshops within the subcommittee this January to discuss each draft of the preamble and other articles. Each

workshop is supposed to complete a draft by summer. It plans to present the drafts to the LDP's Executive Committee prior to submission to the Policy Affairs Research Committee and to schedule discussion of the drafts at the party convention within 1982.

Prior to the LDP's Constitution Research Committee, the "Diet Members' Union To Realize an Autonomous Constitution," that is in a relationship like that of participants in a three-legged race with the "National Council To Protect Japan," completed "An Outline of a Draft for Revision of the Constitution" on 21 October last year.

The outline suggests revision of 10 articles, including Article 1 (status of the emperor), Article 9 (renouncement of war), and Article 41 (legislative powers). The principal aims of the revisions are: (1) to state clearly that the emperor is the head of state; (2) to make the Self Defense Forces constitutional and enable them to use arms; (3) to change the statement that the Diet is the highest organ of state power to "the people's representative body"; and (4) to change the sentence "a resolution of nonconfidence in the cabinet should be decided by a majority of Diet members present" to "a resolution of nonconfidence in the cabinet should be decided by a majority of all Diet members."

This published draft of proposed revisions does not include the "restriction of basic human rights" or the "establishment of emergency supreme power," which the constitutional revision faction has been putting forward for years. The draft is toned down considerably. There is, however, a backside to it. Assistant Professor Mitsunori Takebana of Komazawa University actually wrote the draft. Although he is not known among constitutional scholars, he is related for one reason or another to the Diet Members' Union To Realize an Autonomous Constitution.

In the secret leaflet entitled "The First-Stage Draft and Draft Legislation for Revision of the Constitution," Assistant Professor Takebana explains: "In the current situation, a complete revision of the constitution is actually impossible." Therefore, he recommends that they try to accumulate "partial revisions." In the first stage of the revision, he says that "we would limit our objective for revision to those provisions which have a relatively strong technical nature and have a necessity easily understood by the general public."

For example, the draft revisions of Article 9 are as follows: Draft 1. Insert a third paragraph: "The preceding paragraph is intended to defend the independence and security of Japan and to protect the basic human rights of the people. It does not prevent the possession of the necessary power (or armed power) and its application."

Draft 2. Eliminate item 2 and add "The armed power possessed by Japan is intended to defend the independence and security of Japan and to protect the basic human rights of the people."

He explains the point of the revision as follows. "It is necessary to make revisions such that the Self Defense Forces are clearly constitutional. However, it is desirable not to touch directly the current constitution's principle of pacifism."

Everything is explained in this manner. The first-stage draft does not refer to the preamble of the constitution because of this "thoughtfulness." "The preamble states the basic principles of the constitution. If we change the preamble, it gives the impression that we are changing the basic principles of the constitution and invites strong repulsion from the protect-the-constitution faction. The result might be to put a brake on the revision procedure.... If the situation were such that complete revision was possible, it would be different. In the present situation, where people's allergic reaction to constitutional revision is still strong, revision of the preamble is better postponed until after the second-stage revisions."

The previously presented draft constitutional revisions mostly suggested drastic changes in the basic principles of the present constitution. In those cases, ideals took precedence. The draft of the first-stage constitutional revision written by the Diet Members' Union To Realize an Autonomous Constitution, however, suggests partial revisions. It is, so to speak, a method in which real profit takes precedence.

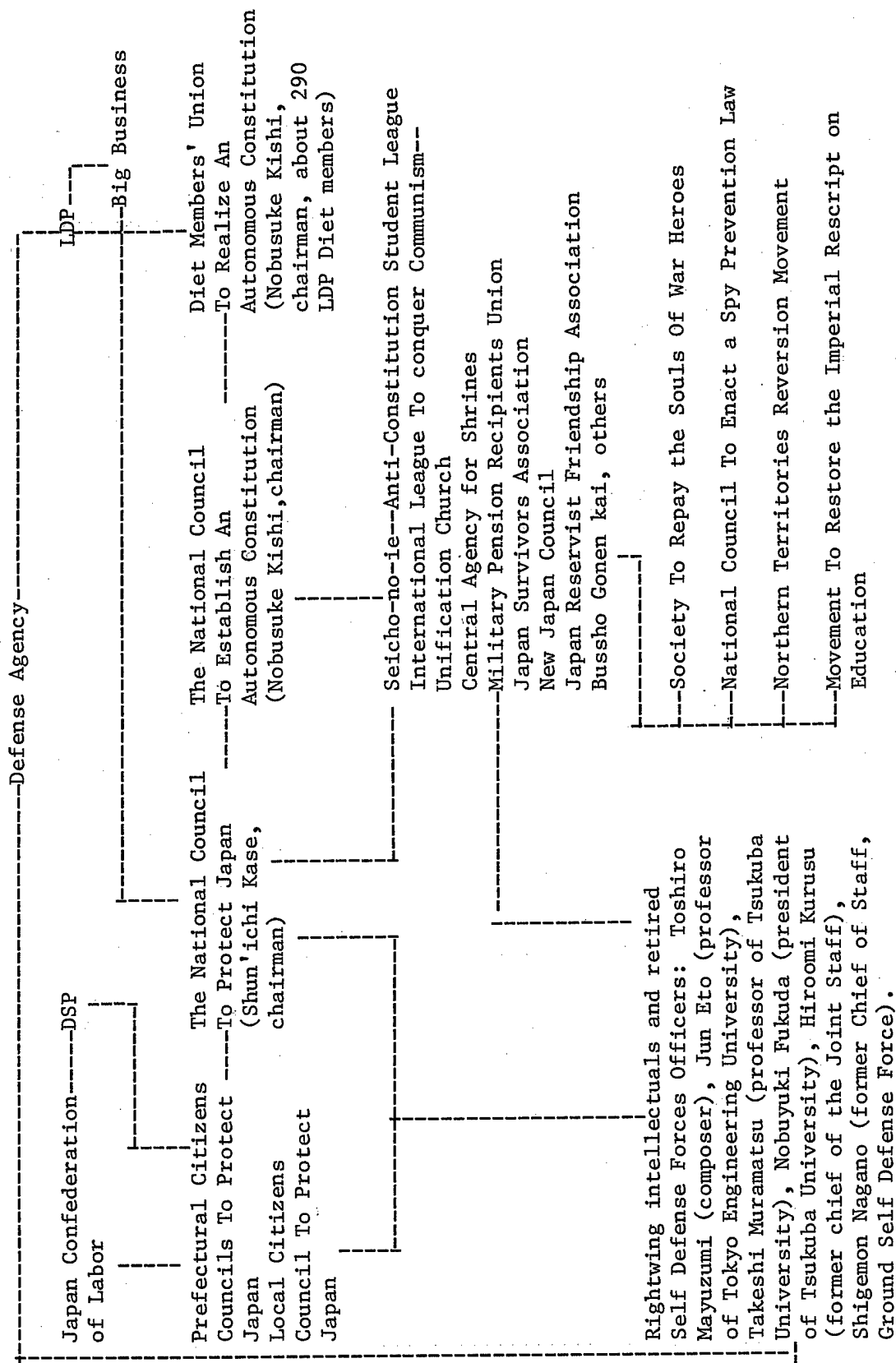
In other words, it is an extension of a theory calling for changes in the interpretation of the constitution and its gradual revision. This kind of revision is suggested today because, as the constitutional revision faction admits, the current constitution has undeniably been widely planted and "half established" in Japan (the National Council, "To Raise a National Movement"). That is why a detour strategy of accumulating partial revisions is necessary in order to realize constitutional revision. And isn't this evidence that the constitutional revision faction has judged that the opportunity has come?

#### The Encircling Net of Constitutional Revision That Has Become Narrow

Constitutional revision versus protection of the constitution, and maintenance of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty versus renouncement of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, have been the basic patterns of confrontation in postwar Japanese politics. Recently, however, this pattern of confrontation has been shaken greatly. The final goal of the constitutional revision faction is "to establish a new constitution and to renew the age." Two years ago last March, the Diet Members' Union To Realize an Autonomous Constitution asked the LDP's local organization in each local assembly to petition for adoption of a resolution "to establish a new constitution and to renew the age."

The results were miserable. The resolution was adopted by only 15 or 16 local assemblies, including Beppu in Oita Prefecture, Aida in Okayama Prefecture, and Monzen in Miyazaki Prefecture. Then, they came up with "a big detour strategy" and the "national movement" line.

# Constitutional Revision Forces



Currently, many reactionary resolutions are bunched in local assemblies such as "Official Visits to Yasukuni Shrine," "Enactment of a Spy Prevention Law," and "Revision of the Basic Education Law." The resolution to promote "Official Visits to Yasukuni Shrine" has been promoted by "The Association To Repay the Souls of War Heroes" (former Public Prosecutor General Masumoto, chairman). The resolution had been adopted in 35 prefectural assemblies and 1,240 local assemblies by the end of 1981. A resolution to oppose official visits to Yasukuni Shrine was adopted in Okinawa Prefecture; metropolitan Tokyo's Shinjuku Ward, Nerima Ward, and Higashimurayama City; and Niihama City in Wakayama Prefecture.

A resolution to promote "Enactment of a Spy Prevention Law," promoted by the International League To Conquer Communism, had been adopted by 14 prefectural assemblies and approximately 500 local assemblies by the end of the summer of 1981. In October 1980, a resolution to revise the Basic Education Law was forced through in Gifu Prefecture. With the "national movement" called the local assembly resolution movement in the background, attempts to revise the basic laws which have sustained the postwar constitution have been progressing rapidly.

A new fact of the rightwing called "The People's Committee of One Hundred To Request Revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty" was organized last March. Its members are almost same as the officers and supporters of the National Council To Protect Japan (the chairman is Shun'ichi Kase, who is also chairman of the National Council). The People's Committee of One Hundred intends to expand into The People's Committee of One Thousand some day. Hereafter, such people's committees of one hundred and one thousand will be created one after another.

The organization of the "National Council To Protect Japan" is at the top of the rightwing national movements. Serious grassroots movements are not the monopoly of the leftwing. Originally, the strategy of the conservatives was expressed in the term "silent majority." The antiwar and prevent-constitutional-revision movements have been getting somewhat stale and devoid of meaning. Now, however, is not the time to ignore the true value of these movements.

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## POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

### KISHI'S ROLE IN LDP POLITICS DISCUSSED

Tokyo SENTAKU in Japanese June 82 pp 50-53

[Text] The political situation has become chaotic. It seemed that if the Diet brought down the curtain, the big disturbance would be over by early Fall, even if there were some difficulties. However, with the super-long 94-day extension of the session, it is doubtful that the situation will turn around. Until 21 August we will have literally a "Midsummer Diet," and what will happen therein? The atmosphere is getting oppressive already.

Chairman Sasaki of the Democratic Socialist Party, which is called the weathercock party, mutters that, "When people ask me if there will be a Cabinet collapse, frankly, I cannot predict. However, the session became so long that anything can happen, and this is unusual." As he says, we have fallen into extreme political apprehensiveness with an unknown future. It goes without saying that the central matter of concern is the fate of the Suzuki cabinet. Just like a boat being tossed about in rough seas, the symptoms of the drifting government are becoming acuter as time goes by. The extension was not originally in Suzuki's mind; he had planned to close the session a little early, and set out on foreign travel on 3 June, after being relieved of his responsibility. However, since he was cast in the scenario that former Prime Minister Tanaka had high-handedly created, Suzuki's presence in managing politics can be felt even dimmer than ever before.

When Chief Cabinet Secretary Miyazawa recently heard it said that perhaps Suzuki is Tanaka's robot, he made a resigned response, saying "Nothing new about it." With the theory surfacing that Suzuki will retire, Miyazawa, who is one of the "next" candidates, appears to be thinking that it is not wise to oppose those in the party who wish to move away from Suzuki, or to adopt a further role of breakwater for Suzuki's defense. The word of Miyazawa, who is a thorough-going rationalist, ended up saying that the Suzuki cabinet is weakening beyond imagination.

### Instructions to the Fukuda Faction To Overthrow the Cabinet

Nevertheless, the concerned voice that "Kishi seems to be the most unbending" is rapidly spreading around Suzuki. Former Prime Minister Kishi has volunteered to be the champion of the retirement theory. When the [Suzuki] cabinet was formed, Kishi was making statements sympathetic to Suzuki, such as "He has always been a helpmate; it [the premiership] just fell on his lap; he never went after it. He is a layman at diplomacy, and will have a hard time."

However, recently Kishi has become increasingly severe, and started to clearly demand [Suzuki's] retirement by saying, "He became prime minister by default, so he must retire now." He is even blasting his favorite apprentice, former Prime Minister Fukuda, saying, "What is most lacking in politics now is determination. There is no daring decision made on the basis of good political sense. Everything is done as a makeshift. Pretty soon, it will run into a wall. He must be forced to retire soon. Otherwise, you will regret it." Thus, he is urging Fukuda and his followers to bring down the cabinet.

Because this kind of report drifted about, Suzuki was extremely concerned about the meeting of the supreme advisors of the LDP set for 21 May, prior to his foreign travel. There are five advisors at present: former Prime Ministers Fukuda and Miki, former Chairman of the House of Representatives Nadao, former Speaker of the House of Councilors Yasui, and Kishi, who, although not a member, was reinstated after the revision of the party rules in January. They are all senior members who are critical of the Suzuki system which Tanaka supports, and only Kishi was expected to act as a brake when criticism emerged around Suzuki, because "recently he became so close to Kaku that they can speak frankly with each other." Now that [Kishi] is turning to the retirement theory, he cannot help but get nervous. If it was Kishi who broached the foreign travel idea saying, "It would be for your own good if you thought about your own future after returning from the foreign travel," the fire would start at once.

However, at the meeting, while Miki suggested that, "in a time like this, (at the end of foreign travel), it would be better to return early, without stopping in Brazil and Peru," Kishi only made one suggestion: "What is happening with economic cooperation with South Korea? It is not good to prolong the decision; it would be better to decide soon." Suzuki explained to Kishi that, "I indicated Japan's sincere proposal, but because of the other country's domestic situation, it would be better to wait a while. I am not forgetting it; I think it is an important issue." He left in the middle of the next discourse because of previous engagements, but he seemed worried about the remaining [session]. Because, the first thing he asked the press corps after returning to his official residence was: "How was the meeting? It lasted a long time, didn't it." The result was that, although it ended in an atmosphere like that of a farewell party for his departure to the Versailles Summit, for Suzuki it was like walking on thin ice.

#### A "Secret Pact" With Tanaka

Kishi's intentions are not really clear. When his 85th birthday party was held on 14 November last year at Kishi's mansion in Gotenba, Shizuoka Prefecture, Kishi expressed his well-seasoned mind before about 300 politicians who streamed in from Tokyo, saying, "I will no longer participate in raw political games. I would like to deal with somewhat more important issues. Domestically, our basis is the establishment of an independent constitution, and in foreign relations it is the strengthening of Japanese-U.S. relations. As chairman of the Japan-U.S. Association, I would like to promote this." Tanaka was the only one who did not show up. He apologized the night before, by phone, saying, "If I came, it would make things suspicious. I am sorry if it appeared

disobliging." Ironically, the fact that they both were concerned about "suspicion" gave a very suspicious impression. Moreover, when Kishi was surrounded by the press corps before the opening banquet of the party, he straightened himself up and said, "I am well advanced in years, but I will still run with the young people's ways." As he said, Kishi set out to stir up political troubles behind the political world. However, looking into the party, no obvious successor to Suzuki can be readily found. Who will be Suzuki's successor in Kishi's mind? At the time of the 40-day dispute in the fall of 1979 when Ohira (who was prime minister at the time) and Fukuda staged a life and death struggle, Kishi kept in close contact with Tanaka, and after calling in Fukuda, made an enthusiastic speech supporting Miyazawa, saying, "How would it be if you, Ohira, and of course Miki all retired if things are going like this? And, it is you who should talk Ohira into it. It would be all right to have Miyazawa (Kiichi) [as prime minister], or Kamoto Toshio if he does not work out. Abe (Shintaro), Takeshita (Minoru), and Nakagawa (Ichiro) are still not good. Age-wise, they are all right, but they are not mentally prepared. It would be good to train these men in the next 2 or 3 years by having them serve as chief secretary or finance minister while Miyazawa is serving [as prime minister]. Miyazawa is sharp, and if everyone around him helped, he could do it."

In this occasion, however, the dispute settled a bit later, Fukuda was not able to persuade Ohira, and when Kishi revealed that, "It probably would be difficult for Miyazawa [to become the prime minister] since opposition appears to be emerging within the party." Nevertheless, it was clear that he clung to Miyazawa. Not only was Ohira Fukuda's rival therefore unacceptable to Kishi, but also Kishi had strong misgivings about Ohira's pro-PRC posture. Nevertheless, if [the Cabinet] were to be brought down during the term of office, it would be easy to restore the party with the Ohira faction filling in. At that time, Suzuki was not in Kishi's eye. Kishi highly recommended Miyazawa, who was one of the bureaucratic elites and cautious in his posture toward the PRC.

More than 2-1/2 years later, the situation had changed considerably because Suzuki got in during that time. Other factions would not allow Ohira, Suzuki, and Miyazawa, who are of one faction, (Koikekai) to consecutively take charge of the government. Miyazawa's chance is slim, and perhaps he is thinking of Komoto, the other Kishi mentioned.

The key is what kind of consultations are going on between Kishi and Tanaka. It does not seem that the Suzuki retirement theory of Kishi is contrary to Tanaka's wishes. Kishi's contact with Tanaka has been frequent, and lately he has recognized Tanaka's ability as "kingmaker," saying, "Tanaka is an interesting person who has charm. There are not many guys as interesting as he is. He created the largest faction since the beginning of the LDP, and if we ignored the Tanaka faction, we could not come to power. Who will become prime minister will depend on the cooperation of the Tanaka faction." In other words, while talking about Suzuki's early retirement, Kishi is not trying to hide the fact that Suzuki's successor is left to Tanaka's wishes.

## "Tanaka Also Abandoned Suzuki"

Soon there will be a point where a political forecast can be made under the new situation, namely the long extension of the session. At the celebration of Kishi's inauguration as an LDP supreme advisor, which was held at the "Shinkiraku" restaurant in Tsukiji, Tokyo, on 17 March, Tanaka first spoke about his theory of revising the constitution. "What was created under occupation by another country cannot be called a constitution. Revision of the constitution is considered taboo, but doesn't our party platform mention the establishment of an autonomous constitution?..."

This showy statement was taken as questionable within the party. The leaders of the Suzuki faction explained it, saying, "Perhaps it is a gesture to Kishi, who is devoting his remaining years to revising the constitution. Well, he is an apple polisher. In actuality, neither Kishi nor Tanaka is thinking of realizing a revision of the constitution. Tanaka's goal is to put his efforts in line with Kishi's." However, the only way to interpret it is that Tanaka has been building a strategy of a long extension of the Diet session, which is to be followed by a tension in political situation, and then finally to be resolved in the main breakthrough.

What appears to be Tanaka's real intention surfaced on the night of 21 May, the same day the supreme advisors' meeting was held, in which Chairman of the LDP's Policy Board Tanaka Rokutske and members of the Suzuki faction who has been elected three or four times had a long talk. At this meeting, Tanaka first mentioned the time of [Suzuki's probable] retirement. "I do not know how long the Suzuki government will continue, but we will be reelected. This is certain. However, [he] may retire (as prime minister) in the fall of next year." While saying this, he half-jokingly said, "The general election probably will be held along with next year's House of Councilors election. Voter turnout will rise 20 percent, and the prime minister will be so happy with the great victory that he will nearly drop dead." This statement is significant, and its beauty is that it contains a serious contradiction.

If, as Tanaka says, Suzuki is reelected, and there is a big victory in the election of both Houses of the Diet next summer, under Suzuki, the Suzuki system will naturally be consolidated. There is no reason why he should retire that fall. In spite of this, why did Tanaka mention the "fall retirement?"

There are two possible hypotheses regarding Tanaka's scenario. The first would be one in which the Tanaka faction would tentatively aim to reelect Tanaka after venturing a frontal breakthrough by the long extension. However, if the situation were to become insurmountable, it may be obliged to accept a change in government. Therefore, the principle is reelection, but he also has [Suzuki's] retirement in mind when he mentioned "the fall retirement." It is unusual that the forces supporting reelection are talking about [Suzuki's] "retirement" at this time, and although it is impossible to avoid the emergence of a voice within the party that, "Tanaka abandoned Suzuki," he took this into his calculation when he made his scenario.

The second scenario would be as follows: [Suzuki] is reelected, and there is a great victory in the election; but the first conviction in the Lockheed trial would come out against Tanaka about that time; the shock of the conviction would be great even with the secure majority of the LDP; and eventually it would be necessary to ease the shock by changing the government.

Tanaka's strategy is probably the former. Due to the long extension, the sentencing of the defendants of the JAL routes in the Lockheed trial, which is scheduled on 8 June, will be carried out during the session. However, if he can somehow get through that, and finish up pending issues such as the reorganization of the House of Councilors districts, he could get away with not holding the fall extraordinary session of the Diet. Tanaka thinks that, if that happens, the Diet will be in recess at the time of the prosecution's final speech to Tanaka, which is expected sometime after the fall, and he could hold the impact of the prosecution to a minimum. It is for this reason, according to the belief of political circles, that he has directed the extension to Secretary General of the party Nikaido. However, due to the policy of forcing this frontal breakthrough, the Suzuki cabinet is hurt all over, and it may collapse. While taking this into account and doing his best to avoid confusion, Tanaka will have to decide on a "successor" under his leadership.

The "Abe Government" He [Kishi] Would Like To See--the Sooner, the Better

Although dangerous, it is all right to think that Tanaka expects Kishi to play the role of rotating the stage when it comes to a change in government.

This is because the only way to select a successor by the agreement of the three large factions, "Suzuki, Kaku, and Fukuda," without aggravating the "Kaku-Fuku" conflict, just as at the time of Suzuki cabinet's birth, would be to restrain Fukuda and to get the support of Kishi, who still has an influence over Fukuda. Talks between Tanaka and Kishi have already been concluded. Kishi has a hand in the scenario, and there is a speculation that Suzuki's retirement is being worked out early. Even regarding Tanaka, Kishi has not forgotten to ask self-restraint, such as, "Since he is implicated in the Lockheed case, and it is not a party member, Tanaka himself cannot consider directly assuming government. Nor can we allow someone who is clearly his substitute within the party to take power." However, possibly because of the retirement theory, they all sound as if they are speaking for Fukuda's thinking. If Kishi opens fire and waves the flag, and if Suzuki, as a result, retires, Kishi's influence over Fukuda and the others will increase. It can be viewed that Kishi is bearing one of Tanaka's two postures.

However, it is not known whether Kishi and Tanaka agree on who to make "successor." The successor will have to be chosen among Nakasone, Komoto, Miyazawa, and Fukuda, but, as mentioned before, Kishi leans toward Miyazawa and Komoto, but Tanaka is said to be sympathetic to Nakasone, so it appears it will not be easy to coordinate this.

In any rate, it is monstrous that the aged Kishi, who has already retired as a Dietmember, is occupying the center stage of the political game. It is certain that Kishi is lending a hand in Tanaka's strategy, but it could also be called a good chance to obligate Tanaka. This is probably linked to a way to fulfill his desire, as father-in-law, to see the "Abe government" as soon as possible. However, it would be normal for the political world if this did not progress as scheduled. An intricate political situation comparable to a hard-to-solve mathematical factor is deepening.

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## SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

### ENERGY SECURITY, MARINE TRANSPORTATION POLICIES DISCUSSED

#### Energy Fleet Construction

Tokyo ENERUGI FORAMU in Japanese May 82 pp 111-113

[Article by Hiroshi Nagai, director of Shipping Bureau, Ministry of Transport:  
"New Development in Energy Security and Marine Administration"]

[Text] What are the Conditions for the Establishment of an Energy Fleet?

#### Energy Security Guarantee and Japanese Ships

Japan is not blessed with natural resources. In particular the self-sufficiency rate in energy resources such as oil, LPG, LNG and coal is very low, so Japan among all the advanced nations depends most on imports for its energy supply. In addition, being surrounded by the sea on all sides, to be able to insure stable transportation of these energy resources by sea is an extremely important matter with regard to securing the energy resources and guaranteeing Japan's economic security.

Oceangoing marine transportation plays a very important role for Japan, whose survival depends on trade not only in the area of energy but also in importing important raw materials and exporting industrial products.

Japan's marine transportation goods are carried by Japanese ships, chartered foreign ships manned by crews from developing nations, so Japan's shipping industry has come to rely more and more on chartered foreign ships. As shown in Table 2, the number of Japanese ships peaked in 1973 and the tonnage in 1976, and both are on the decline.

However, securing oceangoing Japanese ships is very important for guaranteeing Japan's economic security, including energy security. That is to say, if a conflict should occur involving the country in which the chartered ship is registered, the ship might be drafted by the country of its registry, or if the country happened to be the homeland of a crew, the crew might be drafted by the country, or the crew might leave.

Moreover, there is also the danger of being unable to procure the necessary ships due to a worldwide shortage of available ships resulting from the charter of a large number of ships by the countries involved in the conflict and the

detours necessitated by the blockade of canals and straits or to avoid the danger zone. Or, even if the ships are available, Japan might have to pay very expensive fees.

Furthermore, if Japan itself became the danger zone, the use of foreign ships might become impossible for a number of reasons, including denial of port call to foreign ships, denial of continued use of chartered ships, or the departure of the crew.

Therefore, it is very dangerous for Japan, which depends on the overseas supply of most energy resources and other important materials, to rely too heavily on foreign ships. We must always maintain a fixed number of Japanese ships manned by a Japanese crew to the extent that economic chaos will not result in time of emergency.

Another important point about the use of Japanese ships today concerns the stable transportation of oil substitute energy. One of the important topics related to guaranteeing Japan's energy security at this time is the transformation of the energy structure through promoting the introduction of oil substitute energy. The success of this project depends heavily on a stable supply of oil substitute energy.

In regard to the supply of oil substitute energy, the development of energy in the source country and the establishment of an introduction system in Japan are equally important, and it is indispensable that stable transportation be maintained between the source country and Japan. For the purpose of maintaining stable transportation, the availability of Japanese ships which are suitable for the development and introduction of the system under any circumstances, during an ordinary period or an emergency, is of great significance.

Needless to say, it is important to be able to continue to maintain stable transportation of oil, which still fills the greater part of the energy needs of Japan. But the most important role that is expected to be played by Japanese ships today is to maintain stable transportation of oil substitute energy such as LNG and coal.

The present status and the future needs of Japanese ships for the transportation of coal and LNG as oil substitute energy will be described next.

#### 1. Coal

In 1980, Japan's overseas coal imports amounted approximately 73 million tons (7.2 million tons of which were ordinary coal), and the loading ratio of Japanese ships was approximately 43 percent of the total imported overseas coal. Approximately 72 percent of the volume of traffic carried by Japanese ships involved special ships.

The type of transportation contract involving special ships is mainly the long-term guaranteed cargo contract in which a specific ship is assigned to a specific route to transport guaranteed cargo over an extended period of time.

The tonnage of Japanese ships that will be needed in the late 1980's for the transportation of overseas ordinary coal is expected to be on the order of 1.9 million tons, based on the assumption that the volume of imports is on the order of 60 million tons and the loading ratio is on the order of 40 percent, which is the loading ratio of overseas transportation today. The necessary tonnage can be expected to exceed this figure in order to guarantee stable transportation.

In regard to the type of ship, basically, large special ships are desirable from the viewpoint of lowering the transportation cost. However, the choice of the type of ship is also dependent on the restrictions imposed by harbor conditions, the size of cargo, and the transportation distance. It is necessary to handle this matter with flexibility, taking into consideration these concrete navigational factors.

## 2. LNG

Japan's 1980 LNG import was 16.79 million tons. It was all transported by foreign ships; not a single Japanese ship was engaged. Only a few Japanese LNG ships have begun to be built in the past year or so. In view of the importance of securing LNG resources, we must continue to consolidate our position aggressively so that a portion of the LNG transportation task will be undertaken by Japanese ships in the future.

### Plans for Consolidating the Position of Japanese Ships

In order to consolidate the position of Japanese ships, we must first create conditions which will favor the selection of Japanese ships and establish a framework for the stable construction of these ships. The following measures appear to be necessary for this purpose.

#### 1. Consolidating Conditions Which Favor the Selection of Japanese Ships

For Japanese ships to be selected, various related expenses must be reduced so as to restore their international competitive edge against foreign ships manned by crews from developing nations. To accomplish this, the shipping industry must reevaluate the complement through labor-management cooperation in order to save expenditure on the crew and to strive for reduction of the cost of operation by all means, including energy conservation measures.

Assuming that industry will carry its share of the burden, the government must implement measures to lower the amount of shipbuilding capital required.

#### 2. Establish a Framework for Stable Construction of Ships

In order to realize stable construction of Japanese ships, the operational base of the shipping industry must be strengthened and the funds needed for construction of Japanese ships must be secured.

For this purpose, the shipping industry must strive to stabilize the operation through long-term guaranteed cargo contracts in order to cope with changes in

the market situation and take countermeasures to deal with changes in the exchange rate, while the government must secure sufficient long-term capital to finance the construction of Japanese ships and, at the same time, implement various measures which will help stabilize the operation, including effective tax measures which will enable the shipping industry to keep some of the profits made during good periods and use it as private capital for shipbuilding during hard times.

More recently, as a result of widespread energy conservation efforts and a slowdown in economic activities, the prospect for energy needs is being re-evaluated. This, together with the oil glut, has resulted in the energy situation changing constantly.

The environment surrounding the shipping industry is becoming increasingly harsh as a result of the overall weakening of the shipping market, so the operations of the shipping industry are expected to become even more difficult. At the same time as the industry is expected to try harder, the administration would like to insure that Japan's energy security will not be compromised by taking appropriate measures at the proper time according to the basic guidelines described above.

表1 年度別輸出入積取り比率の推移 (単位: 1,000M/T, %)

(1) 年度	(2) 輸 出			(3) 輸 入		
	総量A	邦船B	B/A	総量A	邦船B	B/A
	(4)	(5)		(4)	(5)	
45	41,914	15,682	37.4	483,565	216,212	44.7
46	50,297	17,186	34.2	489,804	222,867	45.5
47	50,741	13,614	26.8	533,303	221,802	41.6
48	50,998	13,278	26.0	607,118	260,063	42.8
49	66,946	15,227	22.7	599,721	248,511	41.4
50	62,222	14,408	23.2	554,897	256,461	46.2
51	71,383	14,575	20.4	592,429	271,753	45.9
52	73,932	15,516	21.0	581,867	253,037	43.5
53	73,740	15,290	20.7	578,409	237,419	41.0
54	76,931	15,919	20.7	613,411	235,822	38.4
55	76,040	15,400	20.3	602,265	225,118	37.4

Table 1. Yearly changes in import-export loading ratio (unit: 1,000 M/T, %).

Key:

1. FY
2. Exports
3. Imports
4. Total Volume A
5. Japanese Ships/B
6. Year

12. Note: 1. The subject ships are all oceangoing ships larger than 2,000 tons. 2. Data on Japanese ships was taken from "Japanese merchant marine tonnage statistics" compiled by the Japanese Shipowner's Association by deleting the non-oceangoing ships. Data on foreign ships was based on investigation of the Oceangoing Section of the Shipping Bureau.

表2 日本船、外国用船別船腹量推移

(6) 年次	(7) 日 本 船 (A)			(8) 外国用船 (B)			(9) 合 計 (C)	
	隻	総トン	(A)/(C) ×100	隻	総トン	(B)/(C) ×100	隻	総トン
	(10)	(11)		(10)	(11)		(10)	(11)
45年	1,508	21,185	75.1	462	7,030	24.9	1,970	28,215
46年	1,531	24,130	70.5	592	10,113	29.5	2,123	34,243
47年	1,580	27,933	69.0	655	12,575	31.0	2,235	40,508
48年	1,476	30,623	63.3	820	17,718	36.7	2,296	48,341
49年	1,427	32,620	59.8	973	21,958	40.2	2,400	54,578
50年	1,317	33,485	56.3	1,152	26,003	43.7	2,469	59,488
51年	1,274	34,649	55.1	1,142	28,289	44.9	2,416	62,938
52年	1,234	33,722	53.7	1,174	29,108	46.3	2,408	62,830
53年	1,204	33,030	50.6	1,290	32,288	49.4	2,494	65,318
54年	1,188	33,344	52.9	1,200	29,677	47.1	2,388	63,021
55年	1,176	34,240	52.5	1,329	30,987	47.5	2,505	65,227
56年	1,173	34,465	55.6	1,232	27,475	44.4	2,405	61,940

(注) 1. 対象船舶は、すべて2,000総トン以上の外航船である。  
2. 日本船は、日本船主協会の「日本商船船腹統計」から内航船を除いたものであり、外国用船は海運局外航課調べによる。

Table 2. Changes in tonnage of Japanese ships and chartered foreign ships.

7. Japanese ships (A)
8. Chartered foreign ships (B)
9. Sum (C)
10. Number of ships
11. Total tonnage

## Harbor Construction

Tokyo ENERUGI FORAMU in Japanese May 82 pp 114-116

[Article by Makoto Yoshimura, former director of Ports and Harbors Bureau, Ministry of Transport: "Harbor and Pier Maintenance in the New Energy Era"]

[Text] Consolidating New Policy Centered Around Coal Countermeasures

### Rapidly Increasing Overseas Ordinary Coal

With the second oil crisis in 1979 was a turning point, the development and utilization of oil substitute energy became an urgent topic pursued worldwide. Coal, with rich reserves and a relatively low price, was given an elevated position as an important oil substitute energy by international consensus. In Japan, the utilization of coal is expanding rapidly centered around the cement industry, and in 1980 overseas ordinary coal imports reached 7.2 million tons, four times that of the previous year.

According to the "Long-Range Energy Supply and Demand Tentative Prospects" issued in August 1979, the demand for overseas ordinary coal in 1985, 1990, and 1995 is expected to increase rapidly to 22 million tons, 53.5 million tons, and 80.5 million tons, respectively. In this connection, according to an estimate by the authority concerned, the demand of 53.5 million tons in 1990 may be broken down according to application as follows: electric power occupies the majority, 74 percent, and the remaining 26 percent goes to nonelectric applications. In electric power application, new coal-fired power plants occupy 58 percent of the total, while in nonelectric application, the cement industry occupies 22 percent.

### Topics Related to the Utilization of Overseas Ordinary Coal

There are four main topics related to the utilization of overseas ordinary coal to be considered in Japan, which depends heavily on overseas supply of primary energy, including oil.

1. Insurance of stable supply.
2. Reduction in transportation costs.
3. Maintenance of domestic supply framework.
4. Dust countermeasures and effective utilization of coal ash.

In regard to the first item, "insurance of stable supply," we must diversify the supplying countries and support the supplying countries in maintaining the infrastructure related to transportation so as to help stabilize the amount as well as the price of supply.

In regard to the second item, "reduction in the transportation cost," we must construct large transport ships, develop shallow-draft ships, and develop new transportation technology such as slurry transportation in order to guarantee an inexpensive supply.

In regard to the third item, "maintenance of domestic supply structure," we must maintain import harbors which are properly arranged and designed to handle

the type of transport ships involved, establish a domestic secondary transportation network, and establish appropriate stockpiles and reserves in order to insure smooth supply to the user.

In regard to the fourth item, "dust countermeasures and effective utilization of coal ash," we must improve the technology to combat the dust problem, turn coal ash into a resource, and effectively utilize coal ash as a filler material for reclamation work in order to promote utilization of overseas ordinary coal.

#### The Strategy for Harbors in the New Energy Era

The strategy for harbors in the new energy era in connection with the topics described above is as follows:

##### 1. Maintenance of Harbors To Promote Location of Coal-Fired Power Plants.

The total electric power generating capacity at the end of March 1981 was 129.35 million kilowatts, nearly 70 percent of which was from thermal power generating facilities centered around oil-firing. To meet the increased demand for electric power in the future, we must expand significantly the coal-fired thermal power plants. For this purpose, we must maintain harbors with breakwaters and navigational routes necessary for receiving overseas ordinary coal in order to promote the location of coal-fired thermal power plants.

Included in the sixth 5-year harbor maintenance plan are projects for the maintenance of breakwaters and navigational routes in accordance with the "energy harbor system" to be carried out at Tomakomai, Noshiro, Soma and Misumi harbor (tentative name, in Shimane Prefecture).

Moreover, the necessary assistance will be given as new requests are made in the future.

##### 2. Promotion the Maintenance of Harbors Receiving Overseas Ordinary Coal

For the maintenance of harbors receiving overseas ordinary coal to be used by plants other than new coal-fired thermal power plants, including converted fuel power plants, cement plants, and paper pulp plants, we must carry out planned maintenance according to a nationwide program.

###### (1) Nationwide program for harbors receiving overseas ordinary coal.

In order to be able to supply overseas ordinary coal to consumers nationwide economically and smoothly, the harbors receiving overseas ordinary coal must have their arrangement and scale properly chosen by taking into consideration the following factors jointly: the regional distribution of the consumers, the exporting country, the type of oceangoing ships involved, the condition of harbor maintenance and the condition of the secondary transportation system.

###### (2) Guidance concerning the maintenance of private coal piers.

As to privately owned coal piers, the existing piers for handling the coking coal are utilized today to handle overseas ordinary coal also. However, these

piers cannot handle large quantities of overseas ordinary coal because of limitations in their load-handling machines and their storage space. It is anticipated that new piers must be built and the existing pier facilities must be expanded in the future. For this purpose, the government is currently carrying out a study so that it may be able to give guidance on matters related to the facility design, to assist in the maintenance of breakwaters and navigational routes, and to mediate in raising capital for the maintenance of pier facilities, as part of its guidance on the maintenance of private coal piers according to the nationwide program.

### (3) Promoting the maintenance of public coal piers.

The existing public coal piers are also unable to handle large quantities of overseas ordinary coal because of limitations in their pier water depth, their load-handling machines, and their coal storage space.

Therefore, we must, in accordance with the nationwide program, promote the maintenance of special piers according to the goods they handle: piers which can handle large quantities of coal efficiently and also general public piers in harbors where relatively small amounts of coal must be handled together with other goods.

Included in the sixth 5-year harbor maintenance plan are projects related to the maintenance of special piers according to the goods they handle at Muroran, Ofunewatashi, and Yokkaichi, and general public piers at Kushiroji, Himegawa, and Nagoya harbor.

Moreover, for these public piers, funds must be secured for the maintenance of the pier facilities, the pier management system must be maintained, and environmental protection measures such as those concerning dust control must be implemented. Regarding "the maintenance of the management system at public piers," in particular, we would like to take the initiative in guiding the maintenance of the pier management system by establishing a cooperative company consisting of the shipper and the harbor transportation business representatives in order to promote fair and efficient use of public piers handling large quantities of coal.

### 3. Maintenance of Harbors for the Purpose of Area Development

It is also necessary to maintain harbors which can contribute to development of the area in conjunction with maintaining harbors for receiving overseas ordinary coal at new locations for coal-fired thermal power plants.

#### (1) Maintenance of public harbor facilities.

In conjunction with the maintenance of harbors for importing overseas ordinary coal at new locations of coal-fired thermal power plants, the public harbor facilities must also be maintained for the purpose of "securing an economic and stable supply of goods for living," "area development through introduction of new industries," "development of area industries such as fishing," and "securing a refuge for ships."

## (2) Securing of land required for area development.

In conjunction with maintenance of the public harbor facilities, we must also work to secure land required for area development (such as land for public facilities, land for city living facilities, green tracts, and land for recreation). In doing so, it is important to work for appropriate utilization of the land reclaimed with the use of coal ash.

Furthermore, in the future, the prospect of harbors for receiving overseas ordinary coal and the addition and selection of harbors and maintenance of the facilities must be managed in such a way as to match the changes in the situation of coal supply and demand.

### Key:

1. Figure 1. Project sites of sixth 5-year harbor maintenance plan.

2. Tomakomai

3. Muroran

4. Kushiroji

5. Noshiro

6. Ofunawatashi 9. Soma

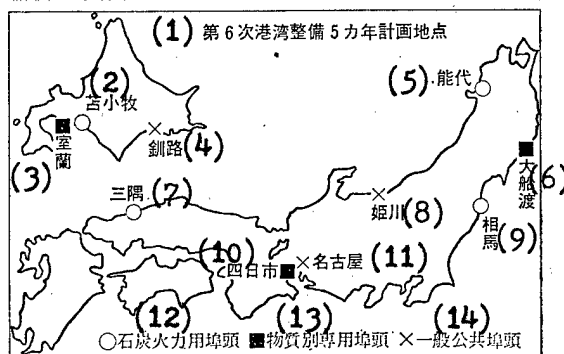
7. Misumi 10. Yokkaichi

8. Himegawa 11. Nagoya

12. Pier for coal-fired thermal power plant

13. Special pier according to goods handled

14. General public pier



### Energy Harbor System

This is a new system implemented by the Transport Ministry in 1980. It was established for the purpose of promoting the maintenance of large harbors which can become Japan's various energy bases. It is to be implemented as a public enterprise based on the assumption that it coexists with the general public utilization and the concerned business units (the harbor manager and the beneficiary) from which the Ministry will tax appropriately.

The objectives of this new system are to work for a stable supply of energy, to work for efficient utilization of both public and private investments, and to promote efficient utilization of the coastal regions.

The "energy harbor system" applies to 1) important peripheral harbor facilities (such as breakwaters) and water facilities (such as navigational routes), and 2) facilities which will benefit the general public as well as those concerned with energy.

The business burden allocation is shown in Table 1. The beneficiary, such as the electric power industry, can achieve dispersion of the cost burden with the harbor manager.

In 1980, the nation's share of the burden came to 1.6 billion yen for three harbors: Tomakomai (coal-fired thermal power, oil storage), Aokata (oil storage), and Mizushima (oil refinery). The 1981 budget was 7.3 billion yen for

four harbors: in addition to Tomakomai and Aokata, Noshiro (coal-fired thermal power) and Soma (coal-fired thermal power).

The 1982 budget is to be 7.1 billion yen for four harbors: in addition to Noshiro and Soma, Misumi (coal-fired thermal power) and Niigata East harbor (LNG).

エネルギー港湾制度の費用分担 (1)

(5) 負担者	(3) 水域施設 (水深, m)			(4) 外かく施設
	13以下	13~19	19~24	
(6) 国	$\frac{2.5}{10}$	$\frac{1.25}{10}$	$\frac{0.5}{10}$	$\frac{2.5}{10}$
(7) 港湾管理者	$\frac{2.5}{10}$	$\frac{1.25}{10}$	$\frac{0.5}{10}$	$\frac{2.5}{10}$
(8) 受益者	$\frac{5}{10}$	$\frac{7.5}{10}$	$\frac{9}{10}$	$\frac{5}{10}$

(9) (注) 北海道、沖縄、離島については地域特例 (受益者負担割合が上記割合より小) がある。

Key: 1. Table 1. Allocation of cost for energy harbor system.

2. Facilities
3. Water facilities (water depth, m)
4. Peripheral facilities
5. Cost bearer
6. State
7. Harbor manager
8. Beneficiary

9. Note: Special rule applies to Hokkaido, Okinawa and offshore islands (smaller allocation for the beneficiary).

### Special Ship Construction

Tokyo ENERUGI FORAMU in Japanese May 82 pp 121-123

[Article: "Special Energy Transportation Ships Can Contribute to Reduction of Energy Cost"]

[Text] To Stabilize the Operational Base of a "Shipping Giant"

The special automobile ship "Oihama Maru" went on its maiden voyage on the U.S.-Japan route in 1965. The Oihama Maru is part of the Mitsu merchant fleet, and has a long-term guaranteed cargo arrangement with Nissan Motors. Although at that time a ship could carry only about 700 cars, the advantage of a special automobile ship was quite significant. Later on, ships capable of carrying 5,000 cars each appeared, and the transportation cost was cut to half that required without the use of the special ships.

The steel industry, too, strived to strengthen its international competitive edge by significantly reducing the cost of shipping the coking coal through the use of special coal ships. It is not an overstatement to say that Japan's automobile and steel industries, which are leading the world in both technical power and international competitive edge, owe their prosperity (at least in part) to the securing of special ships.

### To Reduce Energy Transportation Cost Through Use of Japanese Ships

Now then, how about marine transportation in Japan's energy area? In particular, how about special ships for LNG and LPG, which will be the focus of future oil substitute energy? As shown in Figure 1, the share of Japanese ships is only 20 to 40 percent. No Japanese ships at all are used for LNG transportation at present. Including chartered foreign ships, the percentage barely reaches 81 percent for oil transportation, 78 percent for coal transportation, and 67 percent for LPG.

The percentage of special ships used in the field of substitute energy among Japanese ships is surprisingly small. For example, including those now under construction, the special coal ships centered around those used for the transportation of ordinary coal to be used as oil substitute fuel at coal-fired thermal power plants, with long-term guaranteed cargo by the Electric Power Development Co, Ltd, are only four in number, with a total tonnage of only about 500,000 tons (cargo weight tonnage, same throughout) nationwide.

If 50 million tons/year of ordinary coal are to be transported in 1990, then a shortage of ships amounting to 3-4 million tons is to be expected.

On the other hand, there are no Japanese ships for LNG transportation at all today. In view of the fact that the demand for LNG is expected to triple by 1990, the need for special Japanese ships is urgent.

This means that, as far as the substitute energy field is concerned, the use of Japanese ships and special ships is lagging far behind, and this means a higher cost for transporting substitute energy.

#### Construction of Special Coal and LNG Ships

However, Japan's shipping industry is steadily increasing the number of substitute energy special ships in its fleet. For example, the Electric Power Development Co, Ltd, has four special coal transportation ships today. They are the "Seikai Maru" (69,600 tons) owned by Nippon Yusen, the "Seto Maru" (62,412 tons) owned by Nippon Steamship, the "Shyoho Maru" (69,600 tons) owned by Shinwa Shipping, and the "Kouryuzan Maru" (69,300 tons) owned by Osaka Steamship Mitsui Senpaku. This is the largest fleet of special ordinary coal transportation ships with long-term guaranteed cargo by a single company existing today.

The outstanding features of the special coal transportation ships include the following: 1) the shape of the ship is such as to facilitate loading of coal and to enhance the loading efficiency, and 2) the type of ship most suitable for a specific route and for getting in and out of a specific harbor can be chosen. These ships are also made to conserve fuel.

In addition to the Electric Power Development Co, Ltd, special ordinary coal transportation ships for the cement, steel, and petrochemical industries are provided by Nippon Yusen, and Mitsubishi Ore Transport, among others.

On the other hand, so far there are no Japanese ships engaged in the transportation of LNG. However, with the expanded introduction of LNG, the desire of Japan's shipping industry to build LNG transportation ships is also growing stronger. The first stage involves a project to increase LNG imports from Badak, Indonesia. The project consists of importation of 2.2 million tons of LNG per year over a period of 20 years starting in 1983 from Prutamina (state-owned oil company) by a group of four companies consisting of Chubu Electric Power, Kansai Electric Power, Osaka Gas and Toho Gas.

For the transportation of Badak LNG, three Japanese companies--Kawasaki Steamship, Nippon Yusen, and Osaka Steamship Mitsui Senpaku--have started to construct Japanese LNG ships. These three companies will build three special LNG

ships jointly, with each company owning one-third of each ship. The reason each company did not wish to own one ship each was to disperse the risks in case everything should happen to one of the ships. Because the cost is 30 billion yen per ship--more than twice the cost of constructing a large tanker of the same scale--the project must be handled with prudence. In the actual operation of the ships, each company will be in charge of one ship. The first ship is expected to begin regular service between Japan and Indonesia starting in March 1983.

Another LNG ship construction project is related to a project to increase LNG imports from Arun, Indonesia. Four special LNG transportation ships will be built and owned jointly by the following companies according to the ratio in parentheses: Nippon Yusen (1.4), Osaka Steamship Mitsui Senpaku (1.1), Kawasaki Steamship (0.8), Japan Line (0.3), Yamashita-Shinnihon Steamship (0.2), and Showa Shipping (0.2). The first ship is expected to begin service in May 1983.

Japan's shipping industry did not own any LNG ship in the past. It was somewhat unworthy of the name "shipping giant Japan," but this was because the ship price as well as the operational risks were so high.

That is why in the case of the Badak project, even the large companies are approaching the project with caution in order to disperse the risks by means of joint ownership.

As to future LNG construction plans, I am sorry to say that there are no specific projects under consideration. Not only are the ship costs and the risks too high, but also the right to select the LNG ship used in long-term LNG contracts often is in the hands of the supplier. That is why there are no plans for the construction of special ships by Japan's shipping industry in connection with the plan to import LNG from Western Australia, even though the project is said to be a large-scale project.

However, oil transportation remains the favorite among the types of energy transportation today, that is, tanker transportation. In the field of tanker transportation, Sanko Steamship and Japan Line are the most powerful. However, the tanker business has fast become a difficult field in which to operate, because it was hit hard by the "stagnation" resulting from the worldwide reduction in the demand for oil. The shipping industry wishes to move into the substitute energy field and make it a stable source of income by increasing the number of special ships owned.

#### Stable Shipping Operation and Economic Security

The proportion of trade in the oil-related field, including crude oil, oil products, and gas, reaches approximately 40 percent of the total world trade. The situation is the same in Japan's shipping industry also. In 1981 (according to Lloyd's listing), 45 percent of Japan's total merchant ship tonnage was made up of tankers and gas transport ships.

The oil transportation business is in a difficult situation today due to a worldwide decline in demand for oil. If the world's "crude oil and oil products

shipping volume" and "the tanker tonnage" in 1970 are represented by an index of 100 each, then while the 1981 index for the shipping volume was 116, showing little change from that in 1970, the index for the tonnage was more than double that in 1970. This abnormal phenomenon of excessive tanker supply resulted in the "stagnation of the tanker business."

In addition, the shipping market can fluctuate as much as 20 times on occasions. That is why the shipping industry's desire to establish a stable operational base through the ownership of more special substitute energy transportation ships is so strong today.

This trend is probably also beneficial to the user. Take the case of coal transportation, for example. There is a school of thought that says that the use of chartered ships over a period of 3-5 years might be cheaper than the use of special ships, because depending on the period it can be cheaper than the use of special ship.

However, according to an estimate made by a certain shipping company through a comparison of costs in transporting coking coal over a period of 10 years using the two different methods, "the special ships are more advantageous after all."

Whether or not a further expansion of coal imports can be realized depends on the establishment of a coal network, in which marine transportation occupies an important position. In order to realize effective and stable transportation of ordinary coal, the use of special ships appears to be the most effective means after all.

In the area of LNG ships, where there are a large number of foreign LNG ships, it may appear that there is no need for building Japanese LNG ships. However, to the Japanese shipping industry, ownership of LNG ships is related to the establishment of a stable profit base, which can provide reserve power for positive promotion of the construction of more new substitute energy ships.

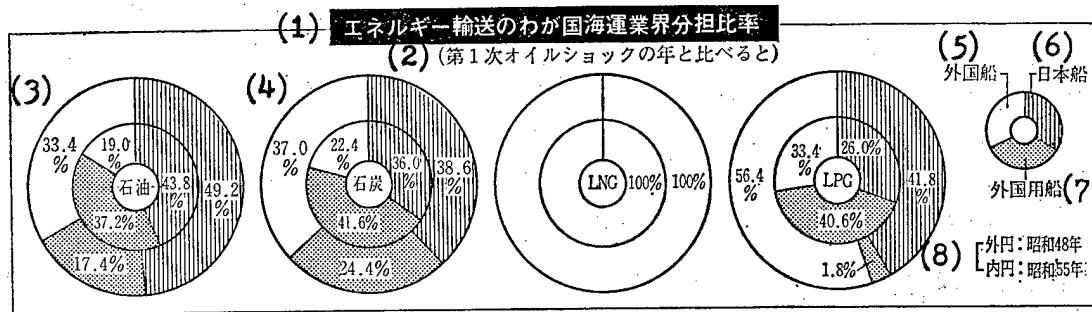
#### Ministry of Transport, Too, Takes Positive Measures

On the other hand, the government has just begun to put emphasis on a substitute energy fleet consisting of Japanese ships.

An "interim report of the shipping policy working group of the Shipping and Shipbuilding Rationalization Council" of the Ministry of Transport published in August last year stated: "Construction of ships for the transportation of oil substitute energies such as LNG, coal, and LPG which are so important for guaranteeing Japan's economic security must be undertaken positively."

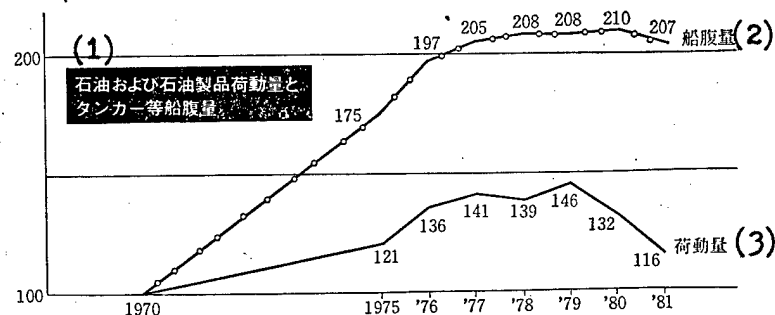
A "report of the overseas coal transportation problem study group" of the Ministry of Transport (March 1982) also stated that as the import of ordinary coal is expanded, "it is important to work for the maintenance of Japanese ships," thus establishing the importance of ships which are suitable for the volume of cargo and the harbor situations involved.

Nevertheless, this is a period in which an interest supplement to the shipping industry regarding planned shipbuilding is not in effect. The time has come for the government to take positive measures to promote the construction of substitute energy transportation ships, including low-interest loans.



Key:

1. Figure 1. The share of Japan's shipping industry in energy transportation.
2. Comparison with the year of the first oil shock
3. Oil
4. Coal
5. Foreign ship
6. Japanese
7. Chartered foreign ship
8. Outer circle: 1973
- Inner circle: 1980



- Key: 1. Figure 2. Oil and oil products shipping volume and tanker tonnage
2. Tonnage
  3. Shipping volume

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